1: Burrows--143 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 646, 522, 514 Ifalik

"At the end, the chiefs distributed tobacco among the people. Jokes, which might come at any moment in their speeches, were frequent in their last words; as if to heal any wounds inflicted by what scolding was involved in the earlier ones. This interpretation accords with repeated statements, some of them in song texts, that an extremely high value is set on kindly words from the chiefs. With 'good talk' from their chiefs, the people will thrive and live to a ripe old age; with 'bad talk', they will die.

I managed to get a translation of only one of these jokes, made by Wolpetau as he walked among the women, passing out tobacco with a bit of jolly swagger, which, I judge, may have come hard to this quiet, dignified man. He and the others had been preaching about hygiene, especially about using the lagoon or the American-plan 'over-water heads' for defecation. Wolpetau said: 'If any woman wants to defecate on shore, let her make a basket, and defecate in that, and then carry it into the sea.' This was greeted with uproarious laughter."

28: Spiro--22 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
622, 276, 522, 576 Ifalik

"At the conclusion, Wolptau distributed tobacco and American cigarettes to all the people assembled. The distribution of tobacco is an invariable, unqualifiedly universal feature of Ifaluk social life, it being distributed after every political meeting, religious ceremony, communal work. It is to be noted, also that the cigarettes that Commander Kenney, the Commanding officer on Yap, had given to the chiefs as personal gifts, were not kept by them, but were given to their people. This distribution followed the pattern of all such distributions--the chief would call the name of each district, and any adult male would respond for his district, obtain the tobacco from the chiefs, and then pass it among his fellows--male and female alike. But the cigarettes, Wolptau distributed personally, and as he approached the women, who of course were seated apart from the men, he spoke to them, warning them not to defecate on the ground, but to retire to the lagoon, and if this were too difficult, they were to use a basket for this purpose and then dispose of the facaes in the lagoon. This speech, delivered with a broad grin on his face, evoked wide laughter, and when he repeated it the second time, the entire people burst into a spontaneous cheer. This little incident is very significant for an understanding of Ifaluk chieftanship, and gives real insight fnto the intimate relationship that obtains between chief and people. Some of the psychological implications of this relationship will be

dealt with in another connection, but here I wish to point out the psychological meaninglessness of a bold ethnographic statement to the effect that a society is governed by a chief or chiefs, for this rubric covers a multiplicity of political realities from the formal, West African potentate to the informal, fatherlike person, just described."

28: Spiro--116 (1947-48) 1949 Woelaians
116, 827, 864, 834, 522 Ifalik

"Sexual activity of any kind is completely taboo until puberty. Should a child engage in masturbation or intercourse, his growth would be stunted and he would become ill. However, I have often seen babies masturbating, or, at least, fingering their genitals, and never once have I seen any adult suppress this activity.

In young children I have not observed actual masturbation, though I have often observed children playing with, or fingering their genitals, with no comment at all from the adults. Some of the young boys, about four or five years of age, would persist for long periods of time in handling their penis, thus maintaining a constant erection. The older boys or men would laugh at this, but not reprimand them. Except for three or four boys, the entire child population asserted that they did not know if others masturbated, and, yet, Talimera drew a picture of a masturbating boy, which elicited peals of laughter from the other boys.

Whether children engage in overt heterosexual activity is a question I cannot answer. Both adults and children profess to know of no such behavior, and I myself never observed any."

28: Spiro--127-128
116, 839, 864, 522

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Masturbation, azirzir, we have seen, is taboo for children. My informants, however, maintained that children violate the taboo. They also maintained that the [128] children indulge in mutual masturbation and that the women also engage in mutual cunnilinguis. The men do neither. (The informants were men.) However, they did recall two cases of male masturbation. A man in Farulep, one of the Central Caroline islands, was discovered by two women masturbating in a tree. They began to tease him, and he attempted to distract their attention by shouting that a ship was coming, and that he had climbed the tree to observe the ship. (8) The same man was mastrubating in a tree, and the branch on which he was sitting broke, so that he fell to the ground. A man on Rauas in Ifaluk had bored a small hole in the wall of his house, which he used as a masturbatory device, until one day he was observed by some women."

"8. This, and the following stories told with great laughter by the informants."

28: Spiro--130 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 522, 831, 562 Ifalik

"This taboo on overt sexual verbal or physical behavior does not apply in the case of adults and children. During an interview with Lesaligesia, a 12 year old girl, Tom fondled her breasts throughout the interview. She sat through it impassively. He then took from his basket a tube of lipstick I had given him, and pushing the lipstick itself through the tube, he told her that she should show it to the women, and that they would laugh because it resembles a penis. The next day, while we were interviewing her sister, she came into the canoe house. Tom told her that she should go to the lagoon to bathe so that she would have her first menstrual flow, and then she could get married. Lesaligesia became sulky at this jibe, while Tom and her sister went into peals of laughter, thinking this very funny.

Another day we were interviewing Tavelegia, a young girl quite mature, but who had not yet menstruated. Tom asked her if she wanted a husband, and she said, no. He then said that she should marry a dog. Later, while we were still talking, he told her to put her finger up his anus. And still later, when she said she would have to leave to 'make a skirt,' he said to her that she should 'make my faeces.'"

28: Spiro--130 [3]
116, 831, 533, 522

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Sexual verbal taboos between different age groups within the sex do not exist at all. For example, women will sing bwarux, with their candid sexual references, in the presence of boys of any age. There is no age 'discontinuity' at all. After having administered my TAT's I showed pictures of other primitives to a group of males, including all age groups, as well as the chiefs, and told them stories about them, involving ribald sexual humor, to test their reactions. All ages thought them very funny, laughing uproariously, none attempting to conceal their lively interest in the matter because of the presence of persons much older or younger than themselves."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 my necklace every third day, when it came my turn. Presently they were given necklaces, too, and then we could all be properly ornamented all the time!

123 177 Don kept on with the regular English lessons. He wrote a journal entry about one evening when Yani had brought a simple English reader from the school supplies and wanted to know the meanings of some of the words—believe, would, parade, party (that was easy), Halloween, conversation, as, think, exactly. Don felt he did nicely—all his teaching instincts came to the fore. He consulted me once or twice, but this obviously would lead only to an argument that would leave the English lesson suspended indefinitely—"exactly" was perfect for an Abbott-Bates argument. Its meaning could hardly be touched on without previous exploration of the nature of reality and the perceptions of the observer, and once this was started, "exactly" could never be reached again. So Yani got only the Abbott interpretations of meaning.

181 There seemed to be little trouble about the explanations, and this set Don to thinking about the nature of "savages." According to Ted, these people of Ifaluk had had the least contact with the West of any of the Pacific islanders—only the people of central New Guinea being comparable. Thus, by common Western standards, they would be classed as "savages"—in fact, as "naked savages." Yet, Don argued, these are really highly sophisticated people, so startlingly like Westerners that it was sometimes hard to remember that there were any differences at all. He was particularly impressed by their sense of humor, which [502] seemed to differ not at all from his own. They laughed at his jokes when they understood them, as he did at theirs. Humor that didn't cross the cultural barrier seemed to be associated either with the double meanings of language, or with cultural traits that were not shared. Don wrote these impressions in his journal—from which I am cribbing.

535 533 After the English session, we all went to watch dancing on Falalap. We took the BWUP and rowed over in the dark, settling down under the palms near a fire of dry coconut leaves. The women were sitting in a line, making slow movements of arms, torso and head to the pace of a slow, low-pitched song that mostly hung on one note, but oc-